UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

An Outline for a New College

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

A Loquacious Fool

By HARRISON BROWN

Will the Briand-Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry of War End War?

By MYRON W. JACOBS

Man's Place in Nature

By DAVID STARR JORDAN

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UNITY

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Editors:

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**
Curtis W. Reese **Louis L. Mann**

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CII MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1928 NUMBER 8

OUTLAW THE WAR-MAKERS

The next war, for which all nations without exception are, with conscious cynicism, preparing, promises to be without doubt such a fearful destruction, not only of the armies, but of the peoples of Europe—of millions of innocents, of women and children, of towns and of whole countries—that those who are taking part in the organization of this heinous slaughter should be condemned by public opinion in all the countries of the world as barbarous assassins. They have no excuse, for they know what they are doing. By the use of poison gases, the next war will put an end to European civilization, and those who let it loose on the world will see their own country annihilated like the enemy's.

It is essential for all men who still retain some pretensions to common sense (not to speak of charity or humanity) to unite to outlaw, not war itself merely, for that is an abstract entity which is wearing threadbare, but the responsible statesmen who are preparing for it. We want no more Pontius Pilates, who hypocritically wash their hands of the blood which virtually they have spilled. May the blood of their own people, the blood of humanity, brand them on the forehead forever!—*Romain Rolland, in Foreign Affairs.*

We have just had an experience which has thrown us into a veritable panic of horror and amazement. So devastating is this experience to our equanimity as an editor that we know of nothing to do but unbosom ourselves to our readers, and make appeal for their sympathy. It may be remembered that in the October 15th issue of this paper (page 75) we published an editorial paragraph in expression of our disgust at the outrageous personal slanders being visited upon Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith in the course of the campaign. We thought in our innocence that this editorial was a masterpiece of sarcasm. Indeed, we searched our memory in vain for anything to compare with it from the standpoint of distilled and concentrated irony. But this issue of UNITY had not been out three days when we received a letter from a subscriber, a clergyman, raking us fore and aft, out and in, up and down and round about for our vicious assault upon the personal character of the candidates. This good friend had not recognized our irony at all. He had taken every word we had written in utter seriousness. He actually believed that we believed that Governor Smith is "a drunkard, a bully, and a rough-neck", that Herbert Hoover is "a hypocrite . . . who has sold his soul to the devil, bartering everything of honor for the bauble of public office," that "every presidential candidate who was ever elected . . . was a thief, a drunkard, a liar, a hypocrite . . . a wife-beater and adulterer." Think of it! This friend and colleague, who has known us for five years, thought we were using these words *literally*, and not, to quote the dictionary definition of irony, "in a meaning contrary to the words"! Is it any wonder that our body drips sweat and our blood congeals into ice as we think of this editorial being read by hundreds of persons who do not know us at all and who may therefore think, on the basis of this comment alone, that we are a worse bigot than a Southern Methodist? Before such an experience, we can only rise feebly from our prostrate condition and solemnly vow, so help us God, never, *never,* NEVER again to indulge in irony without posting Artemas Ward's famous warning, "This is writ sarcastic!" At least not again until heaven's most gracious gift of a Sense of Humor is more generally distributed than it seems to be today.

If ever we were glad that an election is over, we are glad that *this* election is over. Such a "much ado about nothing"! Such dear friends getting fussed and fumed over the Republican Dromio, and such other dear friends getting foamy and fuzzy over the Democratic Dromio! Mr. Hoover droning out his columns of figures and tables of statistics, and Mr. Smith giving "the low-down" on what *"I"* did in Albany and what *"I"* propose to do in Washington!—Work and Raskob, the two National Committee funny-men, putting on their daily vaudeville stunt of repartee and ribaldry!—Radios nightly braying forth the words of party hacks who say nothing at the rate of $10,000 a minute! The air beclouded with lies about "Al's" drinking habits, lies about "Herb's" starvation of the Germans, lies about anybody and anything that will win a vote. And money poured forth in ceaseless floods of millions of dollars, to buy an election which means to the winning party a twenty-five or fifty per cent return on the investment! It is to laugh. And in one feature of this disreputable election at least, it is to weep. We refer to the spectacle of perfectly good and honest liberals like Frederic C. Howe, Mercer G. Johnston, of the *People's Business* in Washington, the editors of the *New Republic,* Norman Hapgood, Heywood Broun, and numerous others, lifting the banner of the Democratic Party and with this soiled ensign going forth to battle for the people. Is it any wonder that the liberal movement in this country has never come to any-

thing? That American liberals have never been more than a roving school of minnows to feed the maws of the political catfish once in four years? First it's Bryan—then it's Roosevelt—then it's Wilson—and now it's Smith! All this hot enthusiasm, touching loyalty, exhausting labor for the flim-flammers who play their shell-game with the *pre*-t-t-i-est shells that ever stirred the wonder of a gaping yokel! We know just how it is, because we've been fooled with all the rest. But—we're not fooled this time, and don't propose to be ever again!

To those among these liberal friends of ours who are so much concerned about the outcome of the election, we commend a parable recently brought to our attention. The story runs as follows:

> A political-minded baker in the Far West has evolved his own method of taking a straw vote. Likenesses of the two leading candidates have been baked in gingerbread, tricked out with eyes and ears and coat lapels of icing. The canny baker is waiting to place his election bets until he sees whether Smith or Hoover sells better.
>
> Such a vote should prove fair enough. The identical stuff has been used to makes both the Smith and the Hoover cakes, and neither man can boast more icing than the other.

There is more involved in this little story, it strikes us, than any mere question of a straw vote. Let us look a little closer, and see what this baker has actually done! He has taken a mass of ingredients—flour, eggs, butter, sugar, and what not—and made some cake. He then has divided his cake-material into two parts, and beautifully adorned the one portion with the face of Mr. Hoover, and the other portion with the face of Mr. Smith. "The identical stuff," please note, "has been used to make . . . the cakes." Only the candidatorial decoration is different. Which seemeth very like a parable of the Democratic and Republican parties in this compaign! The ingredients which make up these two parties are the same. Both are fashioned out of "indentical stuff"—the same wormy flour, the same rotten eggs, the same rancid butter, the same burnt sugar. Neither could be distinguished from the other, nor would either be palatable to the public, didn't "the canny baker" frost each cake with beautiful, shiny icing, and stamp each with the Smith or Hoover face. This is all that is necessary to make a saleable article, and happy purchasers crowd in to buy; each walks away with what he fondly regards as the genuine article, and all have precisely the same thing. The baker must be amused as he watches the excited public snatching for their favorite cakes. So the powers-that-be in this country are amused as they watch the public fighting feverishly over Smith and Hoover.

When election day comes around, we shall feel like taking off our hat to Mr. Hoover, while we cast our ballot for Mr. Thomas. Not once in this campaign, so far as we recall, has he mentioned the name of Mr. Smith. Savagely attacked for dishonest oil deals, for holding stock in Canadian breweries, for drinking and thus flouting his own "dry" principles, for starving Germans by denying them food after the Armistice, all of which charges are as despicable and dishonest as any of the charges leveled against his opponent, Mr. Hoover has steadfastly refused to brawl with his defamers, and thus to substitute personal for political issues. Urged to take the stump and play the clown with crowds, he has insisted upon making a few complete and well-wrought speeches, and these with dignity if with intolerable dullness. Mr. Hoover's campaign has been as colorless as these speeches of his have been stupid. We cannot recall in our time a candidate who, amid vast excitement, remained so calm, sedate, inanimate. If we were a cartoonist, we would picture Herbert Hoover as a meditative Buddha, as we would picture "Al" Smith as a monkey on a stick. All the advantage of fun, noise, "wise cracking", and red fire, is certainly on the side of the New York Governor. While the Republican candidate seems to be holding "Quaker meeting", the Democrat is giving "a bully show;" and thus, if Frank Kent is right in his new book, "Political Behavior," this means votes. But we have a feeling, all the same, that the Hoover policy is wise. Dignity, courtesy, seriousness make their impression, and in this case seem to have created a kind of rock-like barrier of public sentiment which withstands the tossing waves of Smith's campaigning, as cliffs withstand the sea. We dare not promise anything in this campaign, but if a great flood of Hoover ballots engulfs the land on November 6th, it will be because among other things, the Republican nominee has impressed something of his seriousness upon the electorate.

"The most indecent statement in the whole of a bitter campaign," is the charge brought by George Akerson, assistant to Mr. Hoover, against Governor Bilbo, of Mississippi, for whispering a lying story to the disadvantage of the Republican candidate. *"The most indecent statement!"* "It certainly must be pretty bad," was our thought as we caught the headline, and recalled some of the miserable tales that have been carried about during the past few weeks. With flushing cheek and thumping heart we searched the details of the despatch. What was this awful thing that Herbert Hoover had done? Had he been caught drunk in public? Did he beat his wife? Had he embezzled public funds? Had he been unfaithful to his marriage vows? All the filthy lies that have been told about all the presidential candidates from Andrew Jackson down, came pouring into our mind like a flood of sewer water. Then suddenly we read the horrendous charge of the Mississippi Governor. *Mr. Hoover, while on a tour of inspection through the flood district, had danced with a Negro*

woman! Heaven of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens, can this awful thing be true? Dance with a colored woman? Of course it is not true! Mr. Akerson, who boasts that he was "with Mr. Hoover every hour of the four months he was engaged in flood work, is able to account for every moment that his chief was in Mound Bayou, the town where the hideous offense was said to have been committed. The truth is, says this *"fidus Achates"*, Mr. Hoover was in the place only "for a three-minute stop of his train. He never left the train there." He had no time even to meet a Negro woman, much less dance with her. The charge is obviously a lie, a campaign lie. But suppose it were *not* a lie! Suppose it were true! Suppose Mr. Hoover had danced with a Negro woman! *What of it?* What is there "indecent" about such an act? We might as well blurt right out what we really think on this question—that, if the charge were proved, we would think more of Mr. Hoover rather than less.

This is the last word of ours which will be published before election day morning. We propose to address it to those of our readers and friends who have been disconcerted and disappointed because we have not argued week in and week out in these columns for the election of Norman Thomas. These good comrades have known that we were personally supporting the Socialist candidate, as indeed we have indicated here more than once. But if this be true, why have we not given UNITY for all that the paper is worth to the great cause of Thomas's election? To which we answer that, under present political conditions, we see nothing to get passionately excited about in the Socialist campaign! Mr. Thomas is not going to be elected tomorrow, and he or his successor at the head of the ticket is not going to be elected four years hence. No Socialist or Progressive candidate for the presidency is ever going to be elected *until the Republican-Democratic electoral force is so utterly discredited that no intelligent and unselfish man or woman will think of such a thing as voting for any old party nominee under any circumstances.* Just so long as the Republicans and Democrats can stir the nation, especially so long as the liberals and radicals can find excuse for voting for a Republican or a Democratic candidate because he is a good man, or an able man, or a progressive man, just so long there is no hope in anything—not even in a third party! Our one first job is to liberate the voters from their enslavement to the elephant and the donkey, and to this job we have dedicated ourselves in this campaign. We have seen nothing quite so much worth doing as discrediting the Hoover crowd and the Smith crowd—making them both ridiculous. Thomas's campaign must wait upon the doing of this job, even as his election must wait upon its completion. If, in casting a plague on both the Republican and Democratic houses, we have seemed to cast a heavier blight upon Smith than upon Hoover, it is because, in the desperate necessity of accepting as our next president one of two men, neither one of whom offers any fundamental hope to the Republic, we have preferred a "dry" to a "wet", a man familiar with international affairs to an ignoramus, and a man not personally associated with a Republican gang of crooks to a man wearing the stripes of Tammany Hall.

Owing to the exigencies of editing this paper in an editorial chair a thousand miles away from the publication office, comment upon the outcome of the election cannot appear until our issue of November 19th.

An Outline for a New College

New colleges are needed in the United States. Some of the older institutions of higher learning have set definite limits to the numbers of students whom they will receive and are turning away thousands of applicants. Many of our newer institutions with a more liberal policy of admission, have expanded to the point where they begin to suffer the diseases of gigantism, and they ought to more rigorously restrict if they are to do their best work. A few colleges of the older, narrow, sectarian type cannot render adequate service today because they are in the grip of the dead hand. And a few institutions are so poorly endowed that they can neither attract students nor properly care for them. The country therefore needs more colleges.

This condition produces a grave problem. On the one hand we have a civilization which needs broad, well-trained leadership more than ever before, and on the other hand we have large numbers of candidates offering themselves for that training, but being refused the opportunity.

The answer to the situation is,—more colleges. But instantly comes the question "what kind?" Here we find a confusion of counsel, the wisdom of which is not always in direct proportion to its self-confidence and vociferousness. The advice is familiar, including such older forms of institution as professional or non-professional, classical or modern, scientific or religious, large or small, Junior College or Graduate University, classes or no classes, lecture or reading courses, many subjects or one, self government or faculty rule and so on almost *ad infinitum.* The fact that there are many criticisms of our higher education and an equal number of suggested remedies need not unduly disturb us. Perhaps all the criticisms have *some* application, and pos-

sibly all of the remedies have some kernels of truth which are applicable under certain special conditions.

What kind of college? No one kind. A variety of patterns will be needed to fit various exigencies. We must take into consideration the fact that the modern democratic demand for higher education has altered the motives and objectives of college education. Few modern students come to the gates of modern institutions with the same motives which prompted monks and neophytes to knock at the gates of medieval monasteries. Higher education today is a part of the increasing standard of living which demands a fuller and richer life for more people. Let the aristocracy rail as it will, this demand is here to stay, and it is essentially sound.

We cannot therefore accept all the traditions of the past, neither can we completely alter the course of education merely to suit every passing whim and fancy. We need not tear the modern school up by the roots, neither need we lop off its branches because they bend to reach over the monastery wall and let some of their fruits fall into secular fields.

Sound sense, a reasonable amount of intimate experience in the field of education and a thoroughly understanding heart ought to guide us toward a safe, yet progressive goal. Let us be sufficiently bold and humble to suggest an outline for one of the new colleges needed in the United States.

1st. *Location.* It would be situated in a community where there would not be too many distractions to draw either students or faculty away from the serious and sustained pursuit of the intellectual life. Yet it would be in a community where a reasonable amount of culture exists. There would be good lectures, schools, churches, music, drama. It would be a town or city where industry is represented, where population is varied, and where social problems could be studied. The students would, ideally speaking, form a part of the life of this group, and here they would both receive and give, and in the process, learn how to live with people. Preferably, the location would be not very far from a city of considerable size whose advantages could be utilized and whose disadvantages could be avoided.

2nd. *Student body.* The students would consist of both young men and young women in somewhat equal distribution, as it is only under those conditions that any person can best learn some of the most important lessons of personal adjustment.

The numbers would be limited to about five or six hundred, for in this college *personal relations* between faculty and students, and among students, and within the faculty are paramount. (We know at least one instance where the President does not know members of the faculty when he meets them.) The numbers must be so restricted that the whole group can understand clearly the purposes, methods and spirit of the institution. It would be as Dr. Meiklejohn so well says, a community embarked upon a common intellectual adventure, with communicable enthusiasm.

The students would not be prodigies of learning, and they would not be dullards. They would be representative of those American and foreign youth who have proved by their preliminary training that they are capable of going further with the process of formal or academic education, and who manifest a sincere desire for such a life. They would be healthy, normal, high-spirited, with a stimulating variety of temperaments and aims. But they would have to be genuinely interested in what the colleges stands for and they would have to prove themselves worthy of being privileged characters, and receiving the benefits of generous sacrifices which have made colleges possible.

After the first or second years there would be a rather severe weeding out of those who fail to show signs of leadership and excellence along some socially valuable line of interest.

3rd. *Faculty.* Teachers, like other professionals, are human, and therefore it would be futile to expect to gather together under one roof, at salaries available in our modern colleges, a group of men and women who embody all the virtues and none of the faults. But they would be selected for certain purposes, and there would be a reasonable hope of getting a high average of attaining these purposes.

First, they would be teachers who love teaching, and who have entered the profession for the primary purpose of training youth. High school is not the only institution in which large numbers of persons take positions as means to other ends. Men become college professors because they want to write books, or give public lectures, or make private researches, or live the quiet life in pursuit of intellectual aims. These ends are worthy, but should not be uppermost in a teacher's career. He ought to love teaching, he ought to enjoy watching young people develop under his direction, he ought to take his highest pride in stimulating young minds to "see life steadily and to see it whole."

Secondly, he ought to be an inspirer, not merely a phonographic plate which is turned on for an hour for the purpose of imparting knowledge. Just as a great violinist inspires us all with a love of music, so a great teacher inspires his students with a love of the pursuit of knowledge. He imparts more than a formula, he imparts a glow of enthusiasm, the desire for the adventure into the treasure house of wisdom.

Thirdly, he is a student; not necessarily a Ph. D., not necessarily an author or authority of the first rank; but one who is engaged in the process of growing intellectually. He loves the struggles for truth. He does not fear the throbs and pains of hard work. He has dedicated his life to the high calling of bringing order out of chaos, law out of confusion, light from dark-

ness, and to that calling he remains loyal, though seeming to the world unheroic and unsung.

4th. *Plant.* The buildings would form an harmonious unit, and would not consist of examples of every style of architecture from early Greek through Gothic to Georgian, such as we find on many campuses. Due emphasis would be placed upon the value of beauty in academic surroundings, because of the influence it has upon moulding the good taste of the generations of students.

But there would be no unwarranted luxuries, no million dollar laboratories, chapels, or dormitories. Too much is done in some colleges toward providing the student with extreme lavishness surpassing the dreams of Roman emperors. Brains can be cultivated at the crude wooden forms of Rugby as well as in Gothic cloisters. There would be no reaction to Puritanism with its aesthetic bareness, but it would be a campus of modest good taste, speaking of the simplicity of the intellectual life, and inspiring a sense of homelikeness among a group of men and women living for a common purpose with a common devotion.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

(To be Concluded)

Jottings

The presidential candidates in this campaign are pretty insignificant individuals as compared with the chairmen of the National Committees. Listen to Work and Raskob—both springs of knowledge, founts of wisdom, deep, deep wells of mystic vision and understanding. As compared with these men, Hoover and Smith are two pillars balancing the political stage while Work and Raskob play hero and villain, or villain and hero, in the thrilling drama. After this campaign, every school-boy will be told that some day he may be, *not* president, but chairman of a National Committee.

General Allenby, now in this country, is the last of that great succession of Crusaders which includes Godfrey de Bouillon, Richard Coeur de Lion, Philip Augustus, and Saint Louis. How long the span of history!

"Laid out in her coffin and robed in the customary shroud, —a 90-year old Dulsberg widow today surprised and terrified the mourners assembled for her funeral by arising just as the coffin was about to be closed."—Berlin despatch in New York *Times.*

Just the way the Republicans will feel on election night if Smith is elected!

A Democratic Club in Brooklyn, N. Y., recently voted to transfer its allegiance to the Republican Party "because it had not received the support it expected from Democratic leaders." This Club is true to the faith—*in politics for what can be gotten out of it!* If one Party doesn't work, or can't be worked, try the other. Democrat or Republican—it's all the same!

Politics constitute a peculiar phenomenon. First, we have primaries, in which Republicans fight against Republicans, and Democrats against Democrats; and after the results are determined, the Republicans get together, and the Democrats get together, and all is peaceful. Then we have elections, in which Republicans fight Democrats, and Democrats fight Republicans; and after the results are determined, these Republicans and Democrats get together, and again all is peaceful. It looks as though primary fights and electoral fights were both sham fights. And that, dear friends, is precisely what they are.

"Lindbergh discusses the 'Graf Zeppelin'."—New York *Times.* The flying fish discusses the whale!

J. H. H.

A World Peace Statesman

For centuries nations made might their supreme rights,
Renounced justice, love and faith by savage fights.
And loyally served their ruling selfish masters' greed,
Never repenting, always impetuous and willing to bleed.
Knight errantry was when? The warlord's desire or goal

Knowing well how to hypnotize their peoples' soul.
Every nation's soldiers could legally kill, destroy or die,
Life divine meant nothing in the warlord's eye.
Like the sunshine breaking through the gloomy cloud
One statesman to nations, plead outlaw war! Destroy its shroud.
Grant us more statesmen like him with light divine
Good will, peace on earth will then be nations' shrine.

HAROLD OLSSON.

Acrostic—Frank Kellogg.

A Hymn

As seekers of a richer world,
We journey on life's way.
As mariners with sails unfurled
We glory in the day.

We aim to serve humanity
With lives of growing power;
In freedom and fraternity
Transform the passing hour.

We know the tossing of life's sea,
We know its hidden shoals;
But still we press on faithfully,
In courage toward our goals.

In fellowship we face the dawn,
Rejoice the race to run;
In faith and hope we journey on—
Man's day has just begun.

EDWIN HENRY WILSON.

A Loquacious Fool

(From our Special Correspondent)

In politics it is rarely those who do the work who get the credit for the achievement, and this applies as much to Governments as to individual politicians. Thus in the past the Conservatives in England have been responsible for the actual passage into law of several important reform measures, the spade work for which had been done by the Liberals against the opposition of the Conservatives. Only when the Liberals had created the popular demand for the reform was some measure of it accorded by the Conservatives who, in succeeding elections, naturally claimed the credit for this "progressiveness."

In this way the Tories will probably claim credit at the Elections next June for their acceptance of the Kellogg Peace Pact, which in fact they have done so much to whittle down and endanger. But the present Government as a whole certainly cannot claim in justice even this much glory, and amongst the worst of the Pact's opponents is the present Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson Hicks.

This celebrated clown is too notoriously a victim of publicity mania for his words to carry weight in England even while he holds Cabinet rank, but on at least three occasions before and since the signature of the Pact he has given vent to statements which have been used in the United States as evidence that Britain did not welcome the American initiative in the spirit in which it was offered. It may be as well therefore to put on record quotations from the British Press showing that Jix spoke as usual for a section of his own party, certainly not for the people of Britain.

It was in the course of a speech at a Conservative gathering at Evesham that this Minister "glibly apostrophised America in a speech which for sheer mischievous ineptitude it would be hard to find a modern parallel", as the London *Daily News* put it. The part of the speech to which exception has been taken runs:

> We desire to appeal to the great United States, when our signature in the course of a few weeks is placed alongside that of the other nations of Europe, and say to them: "We are signing a Pact to end war, and yet we understand that you are increasing your navy." I think we are entitled to comment, quite respectfully and in quite a friendly way, and say to America and to the whole world that deeds speak stronger than words.

There followed the usual exhortation to follow the example of Great Britain and show a real desire to curtail armaments. "Otherwise the Pact will be nothing but a hollow sham."

What is objectionable in this speech is less the words than the manner and time of their saying, less the manner than the man who said them. This ridiculous creature is one of the most reactionary members of one of the most reactionary Governments on record, whose term of office has not only been characterised by obstruction to every attempt to advance the cause of peace, but who have notoriously been the underwriters of military dictatorship wherever such a regime has raised its ugly head abroad, from Italy to Lithuania. On the occasion in question the press was unanimous in castigating his stupidity.

The Manchester *Guardian* of July 16th had a leader sarcastically called "A Loyal Colleague", in which it said:

> To say that Sir Austen is just as keen as the French government on the "enthusiastic acceptance of the idea of the outlawry of war" is the most left-handed of compliments, since no one except Sir William Joynson Hicks has ever been able to discover the least trace of enthusiasm on the part of France. . . . . It is true enough that the Kellogg Pact ought to mean a general reduction in armaments, but the Home Secretary's assumption that Great Britain has already made her offering is scarcely the happiest way of introducing so delicate a subject.

In the light of after events we may note that the paper went on to call for an official reply to Mr. Kellogg's offer without more delay and to speak of the reservations as follows:

> It is further to be hoped the answer will be as short and as simple as the treaty itself. Otherwise it will not be only Sir William Joynson Hicks who will be tempted to read into Sir Austen Chamberlain's caution implications of policy which are not intended, and which might go far to destroy the value of the treaty.

The *Daily News* of the same day had a leader entitled "Jix Runs Amok", which began, "It looks as if at last the British Government has been shamed out of its tedious, irritating and extremely dangerous delays in regard to the signing of the Kellogg Pact against war," After quoting some of the speech the *News* concludes:

> It is surely time this appalling politician was muzzled by special Act of Parliament. Quite apart from the fact, of which the Home Secretary appears to be characteristically ignorant, that two months ago, after knocking great chunks out of her naval programme, America postponed it altogether for six months in order to give peace a chance, we cannot imagine any public utterance by a British Minister better calculated to arouse the angry hostility of the whole American nation. Certainly one of the far reaching consequences of the Kellogg Pact should be the reduction of armaments not only by America but by every armed state in the world. But first of all we must see to it that persons like Sir William Joynson Hicks are not allowed to run amok and strangle at its birth the Pact itself.

The *Star* was equally emphatic and suggested that "somebody ought to form a society for the suppression of Jix and form it quickly . . . It is more and more clear that he is becoming not merely a public nuisance but a public danger in his amazing indiscretion and irresponsibility."

The leading article in the *Observer* was even more significant of the general feeling on the matter than the preceding comments, coming as it did from a Conservative paper. After reviewing the actual facts in connection with the Navy Bill it said:

> If English Cabinet Ministers will not inform themselves as to what America is actually doing and refusing, are we not driven to agree with those of our American friends who feel, and sadly affirm, that the eyesight of British Ministers in this matter needs the aid of competent opticians.

That the embarrassment caused in his own party by Sir William's outburst was considerable was also proved by Mr. Baldwin's statement when the matter was raised in the House of Commons, that had he been speaking on the matter he would have expressed himself differently. This was rightly interpreted by the Press as an unusual rebuke for a Prime Minister to deliver.

But those who carry on their shoulders heads stuffed so full of prejudices that no room is left for brains cannot be expected to learn from experience. A few days after the signature of the Pact, Jix added

his voice to those of Lord Cushendun and other Tory depreciators of the Pact by issuing to one of the yellow press papers, "A warning against relying too much upon it." This has all along been the note sounded by the French and British Governments, and naturally enough when one remembers that a genuine acceptance by the Governments and a literal interpretation of Articles 1 and 2 by the peoples would make the Pact the Charter of anti-militarism. If the peoples "relied upon" the Pact to the full, holding their Governments to the letter of the new law that "the sentiment or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or whatever origin they may be shall never be sought except by pacific means," all chance for future Governments to bluff their peoples into war on the old 1914 lies of "self-defence" etc. would be gone forever. Intelligent opinion everywhere, pointing to the precedents of history, is convinced that the policies of the present British and French Governments must inevitably lead to war, and, judging by their anxiety to keep the Pact from being too much "relied upon" these Governments themselves would seem to have some doubts of where their intrigues will lead them!

A few days later at another Tory fete at a Scottish castle this magnificient representative of "the stupid party" again distinguished himself.

I should like to point out that this is the first occasion I have spoken in public since I made one of my indiscreet speeches some months ago. After all somebody must make an indiscreet speech now and again. The indiscreet speech of today may be the policy of tomorrow. . . I would warn you not to expect too much of the Kellogg Pact. You cannot put any signature on paper and altogether alter human nature. . . any Government which relies upon any number of pacts and treaties to ensure universal peace would not merely be hiding its head in the sand, but would be criminally responsible if and when war broke out. There is not the slightest feeling against America. We are in fact anxious to work with America in the cause of international peace, but we must be allowed to determine by ourselves and for ourselves what armaments the needs of Great Britain require.

The usual song of the half-witted nationalist all the world over, "We'll all agree together if we all have all we want!" the "by ourselves and for ourselves" is especially good seeing that, as a member of the Cabinet, Jix must have been aware that certain members of the Foreign Office were then concocting with their fellow militarists in France the new "Entente" which has now so thoroughly aroused the country.

Incidentally the Home Secretary referred in the above speeches to the great "example" which Britain has set in disarmament, "since the war we have reduced our armaments more than any other country. We have reduced them almost to the limits of safety" (sic!). One wonders how long even Tory audiences will continue to swallow this balderdash—and to help pay the annual armament bill of 570 million dollars!

It is not only the Tories who are to blame for the fact that of every pound of national expenditure 14 shillings and seven pence go to help pay for past, present and future wars, but it *is* their fault that during the life of the present Government an unparalleled attempt has been made to foster the war spirit amongst the younger post-war generation by means of the Officers Training Corps in colleges, military "tattoos," Navy Weeks, Air Force displays and, above all, by officially sponsored and exploited propaganda films. Jix is only one of the worst of a bad lot; the more the record of this Government is examined the clearer it becomes that by their conduct of international matters they are a menace not only to the safety of this country but to the security of the world.

HARRISON BROWN.

London, England.

Will the Briand-Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry of War End War?

Will the Briand-Kellogg Treaty actually end war? The answer depends upon the attitude of world opinion, upon its sincerity in its desire for peace, upon its will to back up its written word. An agreement of any kind, after all, is as good as the word of its signers. The public attitude or good will plays a tremendous part in the success of any matter.

Public opinion is, however, often dependent on conditions and circumstances, and there are at present conditions and circumstances tending both toward peace and toward war. The tendencies working toward peace are first of all the conquests of science which are annihilating both time and space, thus making all the nations of the world immediate neighbors. By areoplane and zeppelin we can traverse the Atlantic within 60 hours while an ocean liner can do it in 4 or 5 days. When nations are neighbors there is greater opportunity for understanding and harmony.

A second circumstance tending toward peace is our economic interdependence. Our money is invested in every part of the earth and if we would have returns for our money, peace is necessary. Moreover a loss in one part of the earth affects every other part. For example, Russia, which is a great tea drinking nation, due to internal trouble did not buy the usual amount of tea from China; China therefore suffered and was unable to buy cotton goods from England; this resulted in great unemployment in England and a decrease in her cotton imports from our Southern States; our Southern States, thus deprived of part of their market had to conserve and therefore bought less wheat from the farming section in the West; and in this fashion a disaster in Russia resulted in hardships to China, England, our cotton belt and our farming west. No hardship can come to any nation of the world without its resultant injurious effects on every other nation.

A third force working toward peace is the realization that the victor in war is not necessarily the better off because of her victory. Germany today is economically in better shape than any country in Europe, in spite of the fact that she lost the war. Had the allies crushed Germany they would have been greater losers because they need her exports and her markets. No nation can make another suffer and not suffer herself.

On the other hand there are tendencies toward conflict, toward strife. Europe, for example, which comprises little more land surface than our own United States, is divided into more than twenty independent nations, each with its own language, each with

its own history and tradition, each with its own prejudices and hatreds which divide their respective peoples. Patriotism and national pride is a thing of value if it is a stimulus to action within the nation's borders, a stimulus that strives to make that nation more beautiful, more noble, more worthy of respect by all peoples. It becomes chauvinism and a detriment to world progress and harmony if it blinds the eyes of its adherents to the qualities of other nations and prevents those nations from cooperating for the common good.

Another sword of Damocles to world peace is the dissatisfaction of a number of European powers with the boundaries set up by the Versailles Treaty. Lithuania, Hungary, Germany, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and others bitterly resent the fact that their nationalists are under foreign yokes. They offer constant irritants to the peace of Europe and the world.

Perhaps the main indication that fear and suspicion are still dominant in the breasts of Europeans is the extensive military forces maintained. On the same day that the newspapers proclaimed the signing of the anti-war treaty and contained Briand's famous message hailing the presence of a new era, they also included an associated Press dispatch which pointed out that Western Europe's military force is greater today than it was in 1913. There are more than three million men in active military service throughout Europe. Swift practice mobilizations are in progress and trial maneuvers are under way. In all the complicated apparatus of human destruction the nations have a power immensely superior to that which preceded the Great War. These extensive armaments surely do not indicate a faith in peace and harmony and yet such a public attitude is a prerequisite to universal peace.

The Pact of Paris is undoubtedly an immense step forward on the road toward the abolition of war, the scourge of mankind. It is tremendously significant that fifteen great nations have declared that the institution of war shall no longer be deemed lawful. The public acclaim with which it was greeted throughout the world shows that the people are longing for the ideal of peace to become an actuality. The discussion concerning it is serving as a great educational process in preparing mankind for the realization of peace. But the Treaty itself will not bring peace until further steps are taken to reach the goal.

It appears to me that one or both of the following steps are necessary if we are to advance toward international harmony: First, the nations must set up a method for the carrying out of the outlawry proposal, a method such as was set forth in the original outlawry program by Mr. Levinson and included in the Borah resolution viz: that an international court equipped with a code of international law of peace be established, that this court have affirmative jurisdiction and be entirely independent of any other court already in existence; and second, that military armament, except that which is required for police power, be abolished.

When duelling was abolished as a legal means for the settlement of individual disputes, the civil courts served as adequate substitutes. Now since war has been outlawed between nations, a similar substitute must be established. The court proposed while not doing away with the present mechanisms of arbitration and conciliation, should be completely independent of any political agency whatsoever and function for international disputes as the United States Supreme Court does in disputes between the various States.

To the argument that the mechanisms already available for the settlement of international disputes are adequate, one can answer that the nations have not shown their faith and confidence in them by taking the second step that is, by doing away with their costly military armaments. I feel that a court entirely free from political alliances would have greater opportunity to gain such faith and confidence. On the other hand, if the nations should take the second step and disarm, fear and suspicion will be largely eradicated and whenever a dispute does arise adequate means for settlement will be found.

Stephan Zweig, the great German author, in a sketch published recently identifies the dove of peace with the third dove which flew from Noah's ark and in poetic prose sets forth the longing of a weary world for the return of the long lost bird, as follows:

> No one in our day has seen her, this mystic dove astray; yet she still flutters over our heads, anxiously and with flagging wings. Occasionally, during nights only, when one is startled from his dreams, a droning is heard in the air, the sound of hasty pursuit in the dark, disturbed passage and restless flight.
>
> Upon those wings soar all our thoughts, in their anxiety are centered all our yearnings. She who tremblingly hovers between earth and sky, the dove gone astray, as the faithless messenger of yore, communicates our own destiny to the forefather of mankind. Once again, as thousands of years ago, an anxious world waits for someone to stretch forth a helping hand in token of the hope that the wandering dove may now return from her eternal quest.

(Rabbi) Myron W. Jacobs.

Troy, N. Y.

The Seed Has Sprung From the Martyrs' Blood

(Lines suggested by the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.)

Fat-bellied creatures, bleary and old,
Stone-faced women, coveting gold,

Smug-lipped citizens everywhere,
What do you know and what do you care
If two men burn in a great steel chair?

Sip your drinks and dance and revel,
And let these "red fellows" go to the devil!

But stop! There are sweaty hands that rise
Like spikes of flame before your eyes,
Laboring hands which you despise.

They are shaking the world you have ruled for years
With the blood of their bodies and the salt of their tears.

For the seed has sprung from the martyrs' blood,
And rebels rise from the slime and mud,
Who will bury your world in a glorious flood!

Fat-bellied creatures, bleary and old,
Stone-faced women, coveting gold,

Out of your world of hate and stealth,
They have come to build God's commonwealth!

Lucia Trent.

Man's Place in Nature

The relation of the origin of man to the general fact of organic evolution is from the standpoint of science, a secondary matter, a natural deduction from the mass of known facts, although of vital importance to our conceptions of psychology and of philosophy.

To those who have seriously studied the evidence concerned, there can be no reasonable doubt that man has arisen from an early mammalian stock, but whether arboreal or nomadic, of the forests or of the deserts is not yet certain. While man is not descended from any of the existing anthropoid apes, still less from any of their lowly allies—the various tribes of monkeys, baboons, and lemurs—it is reasonably certain that the earliest man and the earliest anthropoids have had a common origin.

The reasons for so believing may be briefly summed up. Accepting the general fact of evolution we have for the study of the nature and origin of any animal or plant three sets of data (called by Haeckel "ancestral documents"). These are Morphology (comparative anatomy), Embryology and Paleontology. To this a fourth must be added, that of Geographical distribution.

In Morphology, we compare homologies or fundamental resemblances, not mere analogies which are only skin deep. The inside of an animal tells what it is; the outside where its ancestors have lived, the surface structures fluctuating with the demands of environment. Organs hidden away within the body remain relatively contact through countless generations. Those affected by external influences, the alimentary canal included; respond with relative rapidity to outside necessities. To the second category belong the skin and its outgrowths, scales, feathers, hair and the like—and minor variations in forms of fins and limbs. A homology is a deep-seated or basic resemblance like that between the bones of the fore-leg of a dog and the arm-bones of man. An analogy is a surface likeness; the four legs of a table, for instance, may be compared with the legs of a dog, table and dog alike having a horizontal axis, one leg under each corner. But the legs of the table and those of a horse are composed in totally different fashion and show no indication of a common heredity or what we call "blood-relationship." (I may say in passing that "blood-relationship" is a mere figure of speech, standing for heredity or inheritance—a product of reproductive germ-cells, having nothing directly to do with the circulating fluid called blood, which supplies nutrition to the various organs, at the same time carrying away waste products when excreted by lung and kidneys.)

In the study of comparative anatomy we find man agreeing in general with the other vertebrates—but more closely than with any other mammals, and in almost every detail, with the anthropoid apes (Chimpanzee, Orang-outang, Gorilla and Gibbon). Structually these are much nearer man than they are to the monkeys and baboons. And in turn the South American monkeys diverge still more widely from Old World monkeys than these latter differ from the apes. One matter of importance is the essential similarity of the body of apes to that of man. Blood may be freely transfused from man to ape or ape to man. But the blood of monkeys, if introduced into a vein, is fatal to the ape, and the blood of man or ape is fatal to the monkeys.

The differences between man and apes do not lie chiefly in the bodily structure, but in the relative development of the brain and what can be done with it, especially in the higher types of humans. Man, as we now know him, has speech, reverence, memory and a power of abstract thought not attained by any ape, these creatures being in a sense, as John Wesley observed, "the first rough draft of man."

The evidence of embryology tends in a like direction. The very early embryonic life of all vertebrates is to all appearance identical. Each has gill-slits, as do fishes, the beginnings of structures for water-breathing. But in the higher forms, these structures are absorbed and the slits are closed, their previous existence being finally traceable chiefly through the direction of the large blood vessels of the neck, which retain essentially the same position in the human embryo as in the fish. It is a general rule—not, however, to be too rigidly applied, that the embryonic development of each organism repeats the life history of its ancestry, forming an epitome of the evolution of the type. "Ontogeny repeats phylogeny." Discrepancies in this matter are, so far as understood, related to the effects of natural selection on structures which, having external relations, fall within its grasp and are modified because they have become inimical to the welfare of the individual.

All discrepancies in this matter, so far as understood, relate to the effects of natural selection on foetal structures which might in later development become inimical to the life of the animal itself.

The evidence from geographical distribution is equally cogent and wide reaching. But it is also especially difficult to bring forward as the basis of an argument. It requires a long experience in the human field to realize the essential unity of humanity or to discriminate between the results of *"nature"* and those of *"nurture,"* between *heredity* on the one hand and on the other, those of training and environment.

The evidence from paleontology (extinct life) is naturally as yet less complete, but even more definite, so far as it goes. For every fossil so far as it is complete is an unquestionable historic fact. With those marine animals which have bones, teeth, spines or shells, we find these hard parts in enormous numbers and have, therefore, a fairly complete record for very many millions of years, a record which is constantly expanding. For land animals, the case is quite different, as their bones are preserved only when hermetically sealed against air or moving water. In caves, in desert sands, or in river deposits their bones occur, and it is in such localities mainly that human bones have been discovered. With apes and monkeys largely inhabiting forests any relic of a skeleton is a rarity. Of all the millions on millions of individual apes and monkeys which lived and died only a few hundred bones remain.

Primitive Mominidae

But a certain number of human bones of great age have been uncovered, and with them a far larger number of "artifacts," implements made by primitive man, and reflecting progressive stages of human culture. The oldest of these human remains display various apelike traits. The most primitive of them is the "apeman" *(Pithecanthropus erectus)* of Java, of which a

skull and some leg bones are preserved. This creature had an ape-like brain, but apparently walked erect. Later came the "Piltdown man" *(Eoanthropus)* of Surrey in England, still more human but not regarded as belonging to our genus, *Homo*.

Later, to all appearance, appear the Heidelberg man *Neanthropus heidelbergensis,* the Neanderthal man *(Homo neanderthalensis),* and numerous others, some of them regarded as ape-men, others as man-apes. Among these are the Miocene Man-apes of France. Much later, though still of great antiquity, is the Cro-Magnon man of Southern France, and the Palaeopithecus of India, a primitive form not unlike modern Europeans, big and strong and having a brain cavity comparing fairly with average man of today. The evidence from Paleontology, however incomplete, is thus extensive and increasing, in full harmony with that derived from other sources, confirming the belief in the ascent of man as well as showing that "man's place" truly is "in Nature," as Darwin and Huxley have affrmed.

In what region man originated is still undetermined. Western Asia is the district most usually assigned, and the present weight of evidence tends to support this view.

Missing Links

Certain general considerations may be added. All that we know of life on the earth shows a constant divergence, comparable by analogy to the spreading of the branches of a tree. Each type shows a constant forward movement—advance or degeneration, along its own line, never returning. In looking for "missing links," we must go back in mind along these diverging steps to find the common stock which preceded divergence. The link between man and apes is not a man-ape or an ape-man, but some less specialized type which lay behind both. This type can be imagined, but has not yet been found, the Pithecanthropus being the nearest approach to it. But it is not likely that this Java man was ancestor to you, gentle reader, or to me. Our lineage is far older than he, and our hope lies in the advance we have already made and in the certainty that choice strains among us may through their best examples yet rise to higher intelligence and more perfect devotion to their families and their race than has yet been recorded in history.

The essence of organic evolution is that the animals and plants now living were derived from previous forms by the continued operation of natural causes. This view of life has gathered such momentum of fact as to admit of no intelligent denial. The problem of science is to sift these facts, and to assign relative values to the factors involved. As to these factors, there is still considerable difference of opinion. This is largely due to the circumstances that to each student the facts he knows loom larger than those brought out by some one else. But the general truth is questioned only in prejudice or in ignorance, and we must admit that even in the highest civilization ignorance may at any time control a majority vote. A glance at the political or religious press of any country will demonstrate this fact. On it all systems of government are based. The evidences for evolution to most people are wholly secondhand, and of a character imperfectly understood. For this reason they seem to many no more cogent than counter assertions of clamorous unscientific ignorance.

It is necessary from time to time to show the distinction between philosophy and science. Philosophy in its essence is the guess as to what lies beyond knowledge. Pragmatic philosophy begins or aims to begin with all known facts as its basis. It is a reasonable supplement to knowledge, and changes its form as knowledge advances. Medieval philosophy rested on Medieval science as true as the knowledge of the times permitted. "Speculative philosophy" makes no such claim. With its roots in the air, it ripens into fantasy or into poetry. Its sphere is wholly outside of science or expanded common sense, the sole point of junction being in the history of philosophy, which is the objective study of past wisdom and fancy.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

The Study Table

Yet All Are Human

Perhaps the first thorough-going, popular attempt to put Kroeber's ideas of culture diffusion into application with reference to American Indians is Paul Radin's "The Story of the American Indian."[1] It is picturesque from the chapter titles, through the chapter analyses, to the presentation of facts and the drawing of conclusions. Such titles for chapters as *The Reign of the War Gods: the Ancient Mexicans, The Children of the Sun: the Ancient Peruvians, The Mexicans Conquer North America, The Capitalists of the North,* not only catch the fancy, they give a suggestion of the somewhat flowery, at times strained, style of the author. Nearly 200 pages are devoted to presenting the more advanced cultures—Peruvian, Columbian, Mexican—regarding which the author admits that we do not know the beginnings or origins, although he hints that they were introduced, not actually indigenous. He considers the Maya as the greatest development in America and the great center from which cultural influences spread, not only into other parts of Mexico and the Isthmian region, but far northward into our own territorial area. A hundred pages are devoted to this streaming out of culture, which he believes to have flowed in two currents—one by water across the Gulf of Mexico and up the Mississippi Valley; the other by land, through Mexico into our great Southwest. The two currents came together, perhaps, at some points as in the Pawnee. The great platform mounds of the Lower Mississippi are for Radin reduced and dwindling remnants of the same culture that left the ruins of Palenque, Copan and Uxmal. The mysterious Natchez, of whom we have a remarkable, though incomplete, account from an eye-witness, still retained much of that old culture. In the Southwest the cliff-dwellers and the later Pueblos show evidence of old Maya culture influences. If, as seems proved, maize originated in the Isthmian region and was first cultivated by the Maya, we are justified in expecting to find at least something of Maya influences over an enormous area. When Radin has completed his discussion of the Mayan culture and its streaming, he still has some Indians left

1. "The Story of the American Indian." Paul Radin. New York: 1927. Boni & Liveright. 8vo. pp. xiv. 371.

on his hands. "The Capitalists of the North" (Northwest Coast tribes) and some northeastern Algonkians with their tales of the great god Hare, show no demonstrable Maya influence, and our author is willing to look elsewhere for their culture origins. For an American ethnographer Radin is, indeed, bold and outspoken. He not only suggests that Maya culture (could it have been without its most marked characteristic, maize?) may have come from outside; he frankly postulates "three invasions of North America, all of which started from Asia: an Australian, Malanesian and a Mongolian proper." We have waited long for an endorsement of "the multiple theory of American Indian origins," which we have for many years been crying in the wilderness. Perhaps Radin and others may yet add to the number of sources, even looking to Europe or Africa for some of the American Indian tribes.

To how many of us is Moncure Daniel Conway even a name? He was American-born, American-reared, yet his name is better known in England today than it ever was here. There his memory is still green. One of the elements in keeping it fresh is the Conway memorial lecture, given once a year at the South Place Institute, London, a monument to the man and his work. The lectures are afterwards printed as little books, eighteen of which have so far appeared. The occasion of the lecture is one of some ceremony and among the lecturers, some of the best known English scientific and literary men have figured. The scope of the lectures is confined to humanitarian subjects. The last lecturer was an anthropologist, G. Elliott Smith, who spoke on Human Nature.[2] He says:

> I have chosen the subject of Human Nature and what the great Humanists of the Eighteenth Century used to call "natural man" as the theme of my lecture today.

After quoting various writers, our author concludes that "natural man is revealed to us as a merry and good-natured fellow, honest and considerate, chaste and peaceful, with a rich imagination and a fine sense of pictorial art and craftsmanship." Note it well, for the common assumption is that the lower we go down in culture, the more cruel, quarrelsome and warlike man becomes. Mr. Elliott Smith claims that this happy condition came to an end with advancing culture.

> There are reasons for believing that men were, on the whole, peaceful and happy until the device of agriculture was invented and "food production" began.

From this point on the mischief extends. War and violence are later, not primitive conditions. Smith sees hope for the future in this. It is impossible to return to the conditions of the halcyon past: civilization has us in its grip. But if man is not innately, aboriginally a warrior, may not some of the disadvantages and inequalities of civilization be gotten rid of?

In 1925 the international office of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was asked by some of its Haitian members to look into Haitian conditions. A group of six persons was organized, which visited Haiti in 1926. The Committee consisted of Charlotte Atwood, Zonia Baber, Emily Greene Balch, Paul H. Douglas, Mrs. Addie Hunton and Mrs. J. Harold Watson—all well known and respected. The report of their findings has been printed in a book: "Occupied Haiti."[3] The editing has been done by Emily Greene Balch. Investigation was made along various lines.

> Even more than they anticipated they found the problem in Haiti to consist not in individual instances of misused power but in the fundamental fact of the armed occupation of the country.

The Committee urges our getting out of Haiti, both for her sake and ours. They state their conclusions and make specific recommendations. They recognize the fact that continued occupation (say, until 1936), does not work to the preparation of Haiti for self-government. This is a highly important finding which few people realize. It is as applicable to Porto Rico and the Philippines, although the method of securing control and the basis for it differ in the three cases.

> Although the maintenance of the Occupation is constantly excused on the ground that its object is to help Haitians in the fundamental matter of self-government, it is at best doubtful whether it is not doing quite the opposite.

A very mild statement of an undeniable fact! Continued occupation in Haiti, in Porto Rico, and in the Philippines is daily rendering successful self-government more difficult.

Many criticisms of Liberia, the Negro Republic of West Africa, have been written. They are usually by persons who have had but a momentary contact, which already had a hostile prejudice or who had some reason for wanting to prove that the black man cannot stand alone. A recent case in point was the book by Lady Dorothy Mills. Occasionally we get a more favorable judgment, and when we do it comes from some one who has seriously come into contact with the Republic and its problems. The latest book of this kind is "Liberia: Old and New."[4] It is written by two men who have had especial opportunity for securing facts and who, while sympathetic, are not likely to be carried away by sentiment or emotion. Mr. Sibley was sent out by the *American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia.* He has devoted almost three years of his time and energy to a study of Liberian conditions, needs and problems. He has traveled widely in the Republic and has come into direct contact with government, missions, schools, traders, concessionaires, Americo-Liberians and natives. No man has had a better opportunity to get the facts. His experience in this country before he went to Liberia, had informed him regarding negro education here, so that he went as an expert. The other author, Dr. Westermann, has devoted years to field study of African life and languages. Some years ago, he went to the Lutheran mission at Muhlenberg, Liberia, where he devoted himself to a study of the local language, with a view to its use in translation and the preparation of a vernacular religious literature. He came into especial contact with the Kpelle tribes, a numerous and vigorous population. To the little book before us, Mr. Sibley contributes preliminary chapters on country, people, history and concluding chapters on mission work, schools and education. Doctor Westermann's five excellent chapters on native life and character are inserted between the two parts by Sibley. The book is the best now available regarding a country in which we Americans have and should have an interest. It deserves wide and thoughtful reading. Among the many topics of live interest and importance here discussed we would like to focus on two—*the Firestone enterprise* with tremendous pos-

2. "Human Nature." G. Elliot Smith. London: 1927. Watts and Co. 16 mo. pp. 48.

3. "Occupied Haiti." Emily Greene Balch. New York: 1927. The Writers Publishing Co., Inc. 16 mo. pp. ix. 186.

4. "Liberia: Old and New." James L. Sibley and D. Westermann. New York: 1928. Doubleday-Doran Co. 16 mo. pp. xviii. 317.

sibilities of assistance or disaster, and *Liberia College,* the culmination of educational effort in the Republic, the highest element in a co-ordinated system of public, governmental, education. Liberia, after all, has done well. Never was she in a situation more truly crucial, more seriously a test, than at the present moment.

The newest number in the *Children of the World Series* of supplementary readers is "Natalia and Nikolai,"[5] a story of child life in Russia—the Russia of a few years ago—not the Bolshevist Russia of today. The story is naturally and interestingly told and brings in many things in the life and thought, the fancies and beliefs, the folk-lore and popular festivals of a people of whom we know too little. The authors show considerable skill in introducing the life of different social groups. The book is well above the average of its class.

A well prepared textbook, a compact presentation of important material, an analysis of exceptional thoroughness is Professor Crecraft's "Government and Business."[6] Surely, few of us realize "the multifarious relationships between modern government and modern business." They are here indicated and brought out in detail. Government has already gone far in its "interference" with and "regulation" of business; it is not easy to see how far it is destined to go in the future. Nor has interference and influence been only in the one direction. Business affects government in a thousand ways, both legitimate and not legitimate. After a general introductory our author considers in turn—government services in economic fields, government and business, business and government, broader aspects of statecraft. These are the major divisions of his field, which are subdivided and discussed in thirty-six chapters. The discussion appears to cover the ground well and is well balanced.

FREDERICK STARR.

5. "Natalia and Nikolai." Varia Klenova and Louise Lamphrey. Yonkers-on-Hndson: 1928. World Book Co. 16 mo. pp. 176.

6. "Government and Business," Earl Willis' Crecraft. Yonkers-on-Hudson: 1928 World Book Co. 16 mo. pp. xi. 508.

Correspondence

The Volstead Act and the Greatest American of His Day

Editor of UNITY:

The greatest American of his day, President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, says in his book "A Late Harvest," pages 263-4, "Nobody should advocate the repeal of the Volstead Act except those who believe in the unrestricted sale of alcoholic beverages. The sale of distilled liquors in saloons licensed to sell light wines and beer cannot be prevented. You must have national prohibition to make prohibition effective. It must be nationwide, or it simply cannot be enforced. It is only since 1917 that I have been a total abstainer; but that is now six years ago, and I want to testify here, now, that by adopting total abstinence, after having had the opposite habit for over seventy years, one loses no joys that are worth having, and there is no joy-killing about it. On the contrary, I enjoy social life and working life more since I ceased to take any alcohol than I did before. That talk about joy-killing and pleasure-losing, and so forth, is absolute nonsense for a man who has any sense himself."

He who supports the Volstead Act works for righteousness; he who works for license works for evil. What nonsense to talk about light wine and beer for the working man. If there is any class who should not have light wine and beer it is the poor, working class. Think of the meanness, the utter selfishness of the poor man who cannot give his wife and children clothing, books, education, home comforts and opportunities equal to those enjoyed by the families of the well to do, spending his money for unnecessary wine and beer just for himself, for his own sensual pleasure, at the expense of the comfort and well being of his wife and children.

DANIEL C. DENNETT.

Winchester, Mass.

"Noise"

Editor of UNITY:

I have been greatly interested in your editorial protests against advertising to the defacement of natural scenery and by noise. This hideous business grows steadily worse. The cure is obvious. All this advertising is done to sell goods. The remedy is: boycott the goods thus advertised. If we can get a few hundred thousand people to make some such pledge as the following and live up to it for three months, the business would know what is the matter. The newspapers of the country ought to help because all this wayside and topside advertising takes so much out of their advertising columns. I don't know how to put the scheme across, but I am confident it would work if we could.

"I pledge myself to buy nothing advertised to the detriment of natural scenery, to patronize no way-side stand that is ugly or dirty and to use no article that is offensively advertised by loud speakers or lurid light."

If we could get a million signers to such a pledge, life would soon be worth living. Again UNITY might begin it and call upon the press of America to push the good thing along.

FRANK OLIVER HALL.

Tufts College, Mass.

Professor Soddy on Currency

Editor of UNITY:

Just why is the subject of currency taboo now with all self-respecting liberal and radical magazines? Is it that they are slaves to fashion and consider currency passé? Are they afraid of being called currency-cranks? Do they think the issue dead? Or what? The subject, as Mr. Wells sadly observes, has become almost indecent. Yet this very disrepute into which the thing has fallen should arouse suspicion. What more could the princes of finance (i. e. of Grab) ask than that all their critics, except a few Socialists, should become paralyzed through fear of infringing good form?

Having no dread of being thought a currency or any other kind of crank, I would tell of the immense illumination shed on this question by Frederick Soddy's "Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt" (Dutton, 1926). It will come as a shock to the economically unsophisticated to learn that Government really has abdicated in favor of the bankers, its age-old function of issuing money. Nothing could be more naive than the idea that bankers lend merely the money deposited with them. Such money constitutes but a small part of their loans. Mainly the money they loan they *make*, even as the counterfeiter makes money. What is the difference between the two? The counterfeiter, answers Professor Soddy, steals only what he buys with his bogus bills. The banker, by lending at interest his fabricated money, puts the entire community under tribute to him. In England the annual tribute on money made and loaned by bankers to meet the exigencies of the War amounts to nearly half a billion dollars. The total figures for this country I do not know, but assume they mount into the billions. What sense of proportion does it show to get all excited over such things as Teapot Dome and say never a word about this grab that must go on, in ever increasing amount, year after year to the end of time, unless by accident we should get a little sense?

And yet this tribute in itself is not the worst of it. The ostensible object of the making and loaning of money by bankers is to facilitate the processes of production and exchange. The actual practise makes a monkey of those

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

C. F. Andrews, in the Manchester *Guardian*

Twice over it has been my lot to accompany the poet Rabindranath Tagore to the Far East. Since the story of those visits has never, I believe, reached Europe at first hand, I should like to tell it briefly. Often he has been mistaken for a mystical dreamer, with no touch upon the realities of common life. It is true he is a poet and a dreamer. But only a brave and wise man could have done the things he did in the Far East, in the cause of international peace, which I witnessed with my own eyes.

He came to Japan, at the height of the war fever in 1916. The revulsion of his own thoughts, which produced his outspoken book called "Nationalism," was due to two causes:

(1) He saw all the grace and beauty of Japan being sacrificed to the militant spirit abroad, and he prophesied against it. The leading newspapers, in return, warned the public that his philosophy of non-violence was dangerous; that India herself had become a subject people on this account. Tagore, they said, was the poet of a defeated nation. He wrote at this juncture one of his noblest poems, called "The Song of the Defeated." It begins:

"My Master bids me sit by the wayside,
And sing the Song of the Defeated."

It tells how God is waiting to welcome as His bride, not the proud, successful nation, which boasts of its wealth and power, but the defeated people, whom the world passes by in disdain. The sentiment is akin to the words of the Magnificat:

"He hath put down the mighty from their seat,
And hath exalted the humble and meek."

(2) He went one day to visit some infants' schools. Though I accompanied him I did not notice anything out of the way. But Tagore came back full of brooding thoughts. He had watched the tiny children dressed in military uniforms and had marked in the schoolrooms the blood-stained trophies of war. All this could not be obliterated from his mind. It added much to his determination to condemn, in passionate terms, the internecine madness which arrogant nationalism had produced.

The Japanese people did not at all lose their respect for him on account of his outspoken words. Rather they admired his courage and sincerity of purpose. On his later visit the whole nation received him with gratitude as a true prophet. For he came at a time of disaster, soon after the earthquake, when the Anti-Asiatic Immigration Law of America had deeply humiliated Japan. Tagore was publicly thanked by the Elder Statesmen for the counsel of dignity, courtesy, and quietness which he gave on that occasion. Thus my own impression is that Tagore has been able to win his way to the inner heart of Japan, and that his own nature has responded to the similar earnestness of the Japanese people, whom he has learned to love.

In China his visit was at first misinterpreted by one important section of the students. It was not unlike his earlier experience of the newspaper press of Japan. The advanced Chinese students warned the young intellectuals of China to be realists and not to be carried away by the poet's fanciful dreams. Many of them had thrown aside all belief in God, as antiquated and out of fashion. They believed in armed force, as the only successful weapon in the modern world. China must arm herself to the teeth and be brutally strong in war. This was their creed.

It was of deep interest to me personally to see how the old sage, with his earnest face and gentle, fearless demeanour, won them over. He brought out of the storehouse of his own memory a profound text from the Upanishads:

"By unrighteousness men prosper for a time;
By unrighteousness men gain their desires;
But they perish at the root."

There is a Psalm of David where it is written:

"I have seen the unrighteous flourish like a green bay tree.
I went by, and lo! he was gone;
And the place thereof knew him no more."

The sentiment is the same. He pointed out that the deepest root of Chinese and Indian social life, which had kept both countries flourishing century after century, had been their moral ideal. If this tap-root were once cut, then India and China would perish, in the same way as Babylon and Tyre. The fact that these young intellectuals have asked Mahatma Gandhi to come over, in succession to Tagore, shows that the poet's message has truly carried weight. For everyone in the East knows perfectly that on this central issue Tagore and Gandhi speak with the same voice out of the heart of India.

THE HERO AS CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Prague, Oct. 1.—Before the International Congress for the Friendship of the World Churches and for Peace, which was attended by many American and English delegates, held in Prague several weeks ago, the tragic fate of Josef Levy was brought forward. Levy has been repeatedly sentenced because he refuses to comply with the call to do conscript service in the Czechoslovak Army.

Several months ago the man, who is 32 years old and employed as a miner in Kladno, near Prague, was sentenced

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processes. It is when things are booming and prices rising—a condition which obviously calls for a contraction of the currency—that bankers are most liberal with loans, thus accentuating a tendency that needs to be checked. When the tide turns and prices begin to fall, instead of coming to the aid of industry with monetary relief, the bankers call in their loans. In a word, the contraction and expansion are operated at exactly the wrong times. It is this, according to Professor Soddy's school, which produces the business cycle with its attendant phenomenon, utterly unexplicable from a physical point of view, of involuntary unemployment.

In achieving eminence in physical research Professsor Soddy necessarily got the habit of thinking in straight lines; and necessarily, in Economics, this habit leads him to conclusions at variance with what he calls politic economics. Yet his conclusions and proposals are in no sense communistic but postulated throughout on an economy of individualism. Chiefly what he advocates is that Government shall resume the powers of sovereignty which it has delegated to the bankers. That it shall issue a currency stabilized on a commodity price-index, maintaining stabilization by meeting governmental expenses through taxation or loans when it is necessary to contract, by the issue of currency when expansion is called for.

Some of the readers of UNITY may be disposed to think this a trifling, surface reform and to dismiss the whole matter as low and earthy. Let all such read Professor Soddy's book! They will learn to their surprise that currency reform has a direct bearing on the cause which they profess to have most at heart: international peace. It is this aspect of the thing which moves Professor Soddy to the following language, which, coming from a cautious scientist, should be a rebuke to the indifferent:

"In the eight years that have elapsed since the peace the clouds of darkness have again descended and all people know in their hearts that it is only a question of time before another war will come, greater and more terrible than the last in proportion as it is delayed. Not an iota of the fundamental causes which produced the last has been altered. The peace has abundantly sowed the seeds of future inevitable national conflict. The vast potential productivity of the industrialized world, particularly in the chemical and engineering industries, must find an outlet. If that outlet is by financial folly denied it in the upbuilding and reconstruction of the home-life of the nations, it remains as a direct and powerful incentive to the fomenting of war."

F. H. FOOTE.

East Jordan, Michigan.

to three months' imprisonment. Ignoring a call to do military duty for the second time, he was condemned to an additional nine months' imprisonment. During the time he was in prison his wife supported herself with the greatest difficulty.

At the next summons Levy heeded the call, but refused to put on a uniform or carry a gun.

In another military court session, held this week, the military prosecutor read a report in which it was said that Levy enjoyed a good reputation in his home community, that he was mentally normal and did not consider himself a martyr. And one could hardly say of him that he was imbued with a "fixed idea." Levy gave only this reason for refusing to do military duty:

"I cannot do otherwise."

He belonged to no church, sect or society and he did not participate actively in the war, as his services at home were used as a miner. Police and gendarmerie of his native town said he was popular there, polite to every one, spoke little, even to his wife, spent his free hours reading books and was a total abstainer and non-smoker.

The following interrogation and his replies were recorded in court:

"Since when did you come to your present conviction not to do military duty—since the revolution?"

"No, before the war."

"What literature influenced you?"

"The Bible, Tolstoy, anarchist publications."

"Are you an anarchist?"

"No."

"Communist?"

"No."

"You refused to do military duty, why?"

"Because I do not consider it good."

"You point to the example of the great Czech leaders of history. Do you not know that the Moravian Brethren who were good Christians nevertheless fought? Do you not know that there is a difference between force and self-defense?"

Levy made no reply to these questions. However, a letter, written by him, was read:

"I am not understood," he wrote. "One considers me a criminal. I have done nothing but what was taught me by my parents and teacher and books which are legally allowed to be read, written by Tolstoy, the Czech pacifist Chelciky, by the famous teacher Comenius, and the Bible. Christ taught love and forgiveness, and so I am unable to do things which contradict these teachings.

"My mind and conscience fix these things. I know what punishment is awaiting me, but I cannot do otherwise. No power on earth can liberate me from the responsibility which I myself must assume for my deeds."

The court, while admitting that the defendant was influenced by high motives, sentenced him to another three months in prison. Mrs. Levy has sent a letter to President Masaryk, asking him to pardon her husband.

"On what shall I live?" she asks. "I am a sick woman and unable to work. The outlook for me is quite hopeless, for my husband, when he is again released, will follow once more his convictions and suffer for what he believes to be right."

—New York *Times.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Ind.

The Religion of Jesus.—By Walter E. Bundy.

Thos. Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Tolstoy—A Play in Seven Scenes. —By Henry Bailey Stevens.

Macmillan (The) Company, New York.

The War Debts. An American View.—By Philip Dexter and John Hunter Sedgwick.

Nabibidhan Trust, Alipore, Calcutta, India.

Life of Protep Chunder Mozoomdar. Vol. 1.—By Suresh Chunder Bose.

Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.

The Point of View. An Anthology of Religion and Philosophy selected from the works of Paul Carus.—Edited by Catherine Cook.

The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The Sinclairs of Old Fort Des Moines.—By Johnson Brigham.

Louis F. Post, Washington, D. C.

The Basic Facts of Economics.—By L. F. Post.

Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

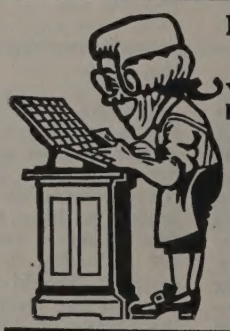
American Policy in Nicaragua.—By Henry L. Stimson.

Srinivassan, Malabari House, Madras, India.

Treveni.—K. R. Rao, Editor.

Willett, Clark & Colby, Chicago.

Catholicism and the American Mind. —By Winfred Ernest Garrison.



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